

Message Text

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PAGE 01 NICOSI 01081 01 OF 02 211813Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----211820Z 048857 /42

P 211737Z APR 77

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5719

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 1081

EXDIS

EC BRUSSELS FOR HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINR, CY, US

SUBJECT: CYPRUS NEGOTIATION: CONVERSATION WITH PAPADOPOULOS

REF: (A) NICOSIA 1043, (B) NICOSIA 1033

SUMMARY: GREEK CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR PAPADOPOULOS, ASSURING
US OF HIS SERIOUS CONCERN ABOUT NEGOTIATION AND MORE
MENTUM, FLOATS NOT-TO-BE-ATTRIBUTED PERSONAL IDEA OF
A ONE-WEEK PRIVATE NEGOTIATION INVOLVING ONLY HIMSELF, ONAN
AND AN APPROPRIATE US OFFICIAL IN NEW YORK IN JUNE. SEEKS
US VIEWS. END SUMMARY.

1. I HAD A GENERALLY USEFUL ONE-HOUR-45-MINUTE SESSION WITH
GREEK CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR PAPADOPOULOS APRIL 20. THE
FIRST HALF WAS DEVOTED TO PAPADOPOULOS' REHASH OF VIENNA.
THIS FOLLOWED PREDICTABLE LINES: GREEK SIDE HAD FULFILLED ITS
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COMMITMENTS TO THE LETTER, TURKS HAD DEFAULTED ON THEIRS.
GREEKS HAD BEEN THOROUGHLY PREPARED AND READY FOR
DISCUSSION IN DEPTH, TURKS HAD NOT BEEN PREPARED, NEVER
INTENDED SERIOUS DISCUSSION, AND HAD GONE TO VIENNA ONLY FOR
THE SAKE OF APPEARANCES. UN AND US HAD TWICE LENT THEMSELVES
TO TURKISH DECEIT, FIRST BY BELIEVING TURKISH PROMISES
BEFORE VIENNA AND CONVEYING TO THE GREEKS ASSURANCES THAT THE

TURKS HAD NO INTENTION OF FULFILLING; SECOND, AFTER VIENNA, BY EQUATING THE PERFORMANCE OF THE TWO SIDES IN THE NAME OF EVENHANDEDNESS. KNOWING WHAT THEY KNOW NOW, GREEKS WOULD HAVE DONE BETTER NOT TO HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THIS CHARADE AND WOULD BETTER HAVE STAYED AWAY FROM VIENNA. CONTINUED NEGOTIATION HAS NO POINT IF, AS THE GREEK SIDE EXPECTS, THE FINAL RESULT WILL BE NO MORE THAN A TWO OR THREE PERCENT REDUCTION IN PERCENTAGE OF REPUBLIC'S TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY TURKS.

2. IN SUPPORT OF HIS SEVERAL ASSERTIONS AND FULFILLMENT OF HIS PROMISE TO LEDSKY, PAPADOPOULOS READ LONG EXTRACTS FROM GOC'S MINUTES OF VIENNA MEETINGS AS PREPARED BY MRS. SOULIOTI, AND THOSE OF APRIL 4 ALMOST IN FULL. HE SHOWED THAT THESE WERE STILL IN SEMI-FINAL DRAFT AND PROMISED TO PROVIDE ME WITH THE FINAL TEXTS IN TWO OR THREE DAYS.

3. HAVING LISTENED TO THE OVERWHELMING METICULOUS STATISTICS WHICH PAPADOPOULOS SEEMED TO HAVE POURED OUT IN VIENNA, I SUGGESTED THAT THIS MIGHT HAVE LEFT ONAN AND HIS PARTY WITH (A) HEIGHTENED INFERIORITY COMPLEXES, (B) REINFORCEMENT OF THEIR FEARS THAT TURKISH CYPRIOTS COULD NEVER HOLD THEIR OWN IN AN ECONOMICALLY REINTERGRATED ISLAND, AND (C) EVEN LESS INTEREST IN MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATION. PAPADOPOULOS THOUGHT THIS OVER AND SAID IT WAS AN IMPORTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATION WHICH HAD NEVER OCCURED TO HIS SIDE.

4. WITH HIS GRIEVANCES OFF HIS CHEST, PAPADOPOULOS TURNED REASONABLE AND SERIOUS. HE AGREED THAT GREEK CYPRIOTS HAD CONFIDENTIAL

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GONE OFF HALF-COCKED ON THE BASIS OF DISTORTED PRESS REPORTING OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S APR 15 REPORT TO CONGRESS. HE AGREED ALSO THAT THIS WAS A BALANCED PRESENTATION OF THE EXISTING SITUATION A PRESENTATION BEFITTING A THIRD PARTY WHICH HAS OFFERED TO PLAY A CONTINUING HELPFUL ROLE AND WHICH PUT THE LIE TO THOSE (PAPADOPOULOS PRINCIPALLY AMONG THEM*) WHO HAD SUSPECTED THE ADMINISTRATION OF GLOSSING THE TRUTH FOR THE SAKE OF PASSAGE OF THE DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH TURKEY.

5. WE DISCUSSED THE PROBLEM OF HOW TO MAINTAIN A SENSE OF MOMENTUM IN NEGOTIATION. I NOTED THAT THREE OR FOUR MEETINGS IN THE LATTER PART OF MAY, FOLLOWED BY ADJOURNMENT FOR UNSC DEBATE, FOLLOWED BY FURTHER DELAYS RELATED TO THE TURKISH ELECTIONS AND RECOMPOSITION OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT, WITH A POSSIBLE FURTHER ROUND UNDER WALDHEIM IN AUGUST WOULD STRIKE MY GOVERNMENT, AS THE OPPOSITE OF SUSTAINED NEGOTIATION. PAPADOPOULOS AGREED BUT SAID THE FAULT WAS NOT HIS. HE HAD BEEN WILLING TO AGREE TO NICOSIA RESUMPTION ON MAY 5. FOR THAT MATTER, I COULD INFORM MY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALLY

THAT HE WAS EVEN NOW READY TO BEGIN "NEXT WEEK." THE TROUBLE WAS THAT THE TURKS KEPT MOVING THE DATE BACK AND EVERYONE ACCOMMODATED THEM. HE PERSONALLY FELT THAT THE BEST TIME FOR NEGOTIATION WAS BEFORE THE ADVENT OF A NEW GOVERNMENT IN TURKEY, SINCE A TRANSITION GOVERNMENT WOULD BE LESS HAMPERED BY PARLIAMENTARY RESTRAINTS. HOWEVER, HE REALIZED THAT OTHERS DID NOT SHARE THIS VIEW. IF THEY WERE RIGHT, THEN REALISTICALLY THE RESPONSIBLE COURSE

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----211822Z 048973 /41

P 211737Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5720
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 1081

EXDIS

EC BRUSSELS FOR HARTMAN

WAS TO SUSTAIN THE NEGOTIATION WITH HOWEVER MUCH SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT COULD BE CONTRIBUTED FROM THE TURKISH SIDE. HE WOULD NOT AGREE THAT TERRITORY BE SHUNTED ASIDE IN FAVOR OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE AND DID NOT FEEL THIS WOULD BE NECESSARY. HE HAD REACHED A TENTATIVE UNDERSTANDING WITH ONAN IN VIENNA THAT THEY WOULD DISCUSS ISSUES BEARING ON TERRITORY, SUCH AS WATER RESOURCES, LAND PRODUCTIVITY, MINERAL RESOURCES AND HOUSING FOR TURKISH CYPRIOTS WHO MIGHT BE DISPLACED BY TURKISH TERRITORIAL RELINQUISHMENT. IN VIENNA, ONAN HAD TALKED ONLY IN TERMS OF WHAT THE TURKS COULD NOT DO ON TERRITORY. HE HOPED THAT IN NICOSIA ONAN MIGHT BE MORE POSITIVE AND ABLE TO DISCUSS, WITHOUT COMMITMENT, WHAT THEY MIGHT DO IN A PACKAGE DEAL.

6. ON A NEW TRACT, PAPADOPOULOS SAID HE WANTED THE USG TO KNOW THAT HE PERSONALLY WAS CONVINCED OF THE DESIRABILITY OF SERIOUS NEGOTIATION WITH AMERICAN HELP. HE COULD WELL
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UNDERSTAND THAT THERE WOULD BE DISAPPOINTMENT IN WASHINGTON ABOUT THE PROSPECTIVE SLOW PACE OF NEGOTIATION. AS A PERSONAL IDEA THAT HE HAD NOT CHECKED WITH ANYONE ELSE, HE WONDERED IF THE USG WOULD SEE MERIT IN HIS MEETING WITHOUT PUBLICITY WITH ONAN IN NEW YORK FOR A WEEK IN EARLY JUNE, WITH NIMETZ OR OTHER APPROPRIATE OFFICIAL PARTICIPATING. HE THOUGHT A PRETEXT AND COVER FOR THIS COULD BE ARRANGED BY HAVING WALDHEIM INVITE THE TWO NEGOTIATORS TO NEW YORK AT THE TIME OF THE UNSC DEBATE ON UNFICYP NOT TO NEGOTIATE BUT "TO BRING HIM UP TO DATE ON THE PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS OF THE NICOSIA DISCUSSIONS." IT WOULD NOT BE WISE TO HAVE THE TWO NEGOTIATORS GO PUBLICLY TO WASHINGTON, AS THIS WOULD APPEAR TO BE SETTING ASIDE THE UNSYG FORUM. SAYING THAT HE WOULD NOT WISH THIS IDEA TO BE ATTRIBUTED TO HIM, PAPADOPOULOS ASKED FOR A US REACTION. PARENTHETICALLY, PAPADOPOULOS NOTED THAT "IF MR. CLIFFORD HAD BEEN IN THE CHAIR IN VIENNA, HE WOULD NEVER HAVE TOLERATED THE KIND OF GAMES EACH OF US PLAYED." HE THOUGHT THAT BY THE KIND OF DEVICE HE HAD SUGGESTED, CLIFFORD'S INFLUENCE COULD BE BROUGHT TO BEAR "FROM THE SHADOWS."

7. PAPADOPOULOS SAID WE MIGHT NOT REALIZE HOW HARD MAKARIOS HAD WORKED TO FULFILL HIS PRE-VIENNA COMMITMENT TO CLIFFORD AND BRING HIS SIDE INTO LINE. LYSSARIDES AND KYPRIANOU HAD BEEN VERY DIFFICULT. IN THE FACT OF THE ARCHBISHOP'S HEART ATTACK WE COULD SEE THE TOLL THAT THIS EFFORT HAD TAKEN. HE HOPED USG COULD FIND SOME APPROPRIATE WAY OF BOLSTERING THE ARCHBISHOP'S MORALE AND SHORING UP HIS PSYCHOLOGICAL COMMITMENT TO COOPERATION BY AN EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION.

8. COMMENT: ON PAPADOPOULOS' SUGGESTION FOR A NEW YORK MEETING, WE CAN SEE SOME OBVIOUS LIABILITIES, SOME POTENTIAL ADVANTAGES. WE WONDER IF THE TURKS WOULD AGREE EVEN TO CONSIDER.

9. FROM HIS PERFORMANCE IN VIENNA AND SINCE, WE SENSE A GREATER COMMITMENT TO NEGOTIATION ON PAPADOPOULOS' PART THAN HAS BEEN PRESENT BEFORE. IT IS OUR EVALUATION THAT, TESTING
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PREVAILING SENTIMENT, HE HAS CONCLUDED GREEK CYPRIOTS WANT A SOLUTION. AS AN AMBITIOUS POLITICIAN HE IS RESPONDING TO THIS.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NEGOTIATIONS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 21-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977NICOSI01081
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770139-0129
Format: TEL
From: NICOSIA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770434/aaaabcmq.tel
Line Count: 225
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Litigation History:
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Message ID: b45130a1-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 NICOSIA 1043, 77 NICOSIA 1033
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2738006
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CYPRUS NEGOTIATION: CONVERSATION WITH PAPADOPOULOS
TAGS: PFOR, PINR, CY, US, (PAPADOPOULOS)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/b45130a1-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009